

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KINGST 01177 01 OF 02 112148Z
ACTION ARA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 SP-02 CIAE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05
ISO-00 /033 W

-----112355Z 000619 /66

R 112110Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4392

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KINGSTON 1177

LIMDIS

FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: EGEN, EFIN, PFOR, JM
SUBJECT: TECHNICAL TEAMS & ASSISTANCE FOR JAMAICA

REF: A. STATE 051621 (LIMDIS)
B. 75 KINGSTON 3672 (NODIS)
C. 75 KINGSTON 3673 (STADIS-ROGER)
D. 75 KINGSTON 3770 (EXDIS)
E. 75 KINGSTON 3771 (EXDIS)

1. AFTER READING REFTEL A REPORTING ON THE PROPOSED
TECHNICAL TEAMS TO VISIT JAMAICA IN APRIL AND THE COMMUNI-
QUE ISSUED AFTER THE VANCE/PATTERSON MEETINGS, I ADMIT
TO BEING STRUCK BY A SENSE OF DEJA VU. WHAT THE JAMAICANS
HAVE PROPOSED TO US IS BEGINNING TO SHAPE UP TO A PRO-
GRAM VERY MUCH LIKE THT WHICH THEY PUT FORWARD IN LATE
1975. AT THAT TIME JAMAICAN OFFICIALS "AT THE HIGHEST
LEVELS" MADE CLEAR TO US THEIR CONCERN OVER THE GROWING
INFLUENCE ON THE LEFT WITHIN THE PNP GOVERNMENT
AND PROPOSED BLOCKING THE LEFT BY CONSIDERING A
MAJOR U.S. ASSISTANCE PACKAGE. AT THE TIME SENIOR
GOJ OFFICIALS SAID JAMAICA NEEDED ASSISTANCE OF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KINGST 01177 01 OF 02 112148Z

\$150 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR FOR TEN YEARS. THE
FIGURE WAS TO BE USED AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION, AND IT
WAS NOT PROPOSED THAT THE US SHOULD PUT UP OR
EVEN GUARANTEE THE WHOLE AMOUNT. JAMAICAN SPOKESMEN,
AT THE REQUEST OF THE PRIME MINISTER, PURSUED THEIR
CASE HERE AND IN WASHINGTON, ALBEIT SOMEWHAT NAIVELY.
THEY SUGGESTED THAT THE FIRST STEP BE THE ESTABLISHMENT

OF BILATERAL TECHNICAL TEAMS TO SURVEY THE PROBLEM.
FOR WHATEVER REASONS OF OUR OWN, WE WERE UNRECEPTIVE
TO THE JAMAICAN PROPOSALS. IN MY VIEW OUR FAILURE TO RESPOND
HELPED POSITIVELY TO PRECIPITATE A PERIOD OF HARSH ANTI-AMERICANISM.

2. WE ARE FACED WITH A SOMEWHAT SIMILAR REQUEST FROM
JAMAICA TODAY. UNFORTUNATELY THE SITUATION NOW IS
MUCH MORE COMPLEX AND THE PROSPECT FOR A SATISFACTORY
ACCOMMODATION FAR MORE REMOTE. SINCE 1975 THE PNP
HAS BEEN RE-ELECTED, THE RADICAL LEFT HAS GONE FROM
A POSITION OF AN STRONG MINORITY TO A STATUS EQUAL
TO, OR PERHAPS EVEN STRONGER THAN, THAT OF THE
MODERATES. THE ATMOSPHERE SINCE 1975 HAS BEEN
COLORED BY A CAMPAIGN OF ANTI-U.S. RHETORIC AND
THE ECONOMIC SITUATION HAS DETERIORATED FROM
SERIOUS TO CATASTROPHIC. THE PRICE OF A POSSIBLE
SOLUTION TODAY WILL BE HIGHER; THE PROSPECTS FOR
ITS SUCCESS LOWER.

3. NOTWITHSTANDING THIS, THE NEW APPROACH SYMBOLIZED
BY THE VANCE/PATTERSON MEETING AND OUR REAWAKENED
INTEREST IN JAMAICA'S PROBLEMS SHOULD AND WILL BE
WELCOME EVERYWHERE. THE QUESTIONS WHICH MUST NOW
BE ANSWERED INCLUDE:

- A. WHAT ROLE ARE WE PREPARED TO PLAY?
- B. HOW MUCH ASSISTANCE ARE WE WILLING TO PRODUCE?
- C. DO WE ASSIST BILATERALLY OR ON A MULTI-
ATERA BASIS?

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KINGST 01177 01 OF 02 112148Z

- D. WHAT GUARANTEES OF CNTINUED IN-COUNTRY
SUPPORT MUST WE HAVE FOR OUR PROGRAMS?
- E. DO WE WISH TO TIE OUR ASSISTANCE EXPLICITLY
OR IMPLICITLY TO THE MAINTENANCE OF A TWO-
PARTY DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IN JAMAICA OR
WOULD WE BE PREPARED TO CONTINUE ASSISTANCE
TO AN AUTHORITARIAN SINGLE PARTY STATE?
- F. WHAT LEVEL OF STATE CONTROL OF THE
PRIVATE SECTOR ARE WE PREPARED TO SEE?
DOES IT MATTER?
- G. IF, AS WE BELIEVE, JAMAICA HAS BEGUN, OR
IS BEING FORCED BY CIRCUMSTANCE INTO,
A PROCESS OF EROSION OF INDIVIDUAL LIBER-
TIES, ARE WE PREPARED TO CONTINUE ASSIST-
ANCE IN THE FACE OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLA-
TIONS?
- H. ARE WE PREPARED TO CONTINUE A PROGRAM OF
FOREIGN ASSISTANCE SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT,
OR ELEMENTS OF IT, REKINDLE ITS ANTI-US

RHETORIC AND ITS NEGATIVE VOTING PATTERN
IN INTERNATIONAL FORA ON MATTERS OF
CRITICAL INTEREST TO US IN THE UN AND
ELSEWHERE?

4. WHILE I BELIEVE THAT CONSIDERABLE BENEFIT CAN
COME FROM A PROGRAM OF U.S. BILATERAL ASSISTANCE,
I HAVE ARGUED IN THE PAST FOR THE MULTILATERALIZA-
TION OF OUR EFFORTS. THIS SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN

NOTE BY OC/T: DISSEMINATION COORDINATED WITH S/S-O.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 KINGST 01177 02 OF 02 112156Z
ACTION ARA-06

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 SP-02 CIAE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00
INR-05 /033 W

-----112350Z 000754 /66

R 112110Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY KINGSTON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4393

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KINGSTON 1177

LIMDIS

FROM THE AMBASSADOR

IMPLICITLY ACCEPTED IN THE HABIB/PATTERSON DISCUSSION.
YET, PLANS TO DEVELOP THE OVERALL ASSISTANCE FRAME-
WORK ON A BILATERAL BASIS, THROUGH THE USE OF JOINT
TECHNICAL TEAMS, WOULD SEEM TO RAISE SERIOUS QUES-
TIONS IN THIS REGARD. SPECIFICALLY,

A. MIGHT NOT THE ACTIVITIES OF A U.S. TECHNICAL TEAM IN JAMAICA
CAUSE SERIOUS INTERNAL DIVISION WITHIN THE GOT? WOULD, FOR
EXAMPLE, THE TEAM ATTEMPT TO INVOLVE ITSELF IN MANPOWER UTILI-
ZATION QUESTIONS CURRENTLY UNDER CONTROL OF THE MINISTER OF
MOBILIZATION, THE RADICAL D.K. DUNCAN?

B. WOULD A U.S. TECHNICAL TEAM FEEL FREE TO OFFER A PRESCRIPTION
ALREADY REJECTED BY THE GOJ IF IT FEELS THIS IS NECESSARY TO
PUT THE ECONOMY ON A STABLE FOOTING (I.E. DEVALUATION)?

C. WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS OF OBTAINING ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER
POTENTIAL DONORS FOR A PROGRAM BASED ON A BILATERAL U.S./
JAMAICA ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION?

D. WILL THE IMF COOPERATE WITH US IN WHAT WILL ESSENTIALLY BE
A REPEAT OF THEIR OWN MAJOR ASSESSMENT AND PRESCRIPTION UNDERTAKEN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KINGST 01177 02 OF 02 112156Z

OVER THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS? IF NOT, ARE WE PREPARED TO SERVE
AS AN ALTERNATE TO THE IMF?

E. DOE WE WANT TO OFFER OUR GOOD OFFICES IN HELPING JAMAICA
REGAIN IMF SUPPORT AFTER THE ANTI-IMF RHETORIC OF THE PAST THREE
MONTHS?

F. HAVING PREPARED THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PROGRAM, DO WE NOT
ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR ITS SUCCESS? ARE WE EXPOSING OUR-
SELVES AS POTENTIAL SCAPEGOATS IF EVERYTHING FALLS APART?

G. FINALLY, IF WE ARE SUCCESSFUL IN DEVELOPING, ON A BILATERAL
BASIS, A CLEAR PROJECTION OF JAMAICA'S NEEDS (PROBABLY IN THE
ORDER OF 150-300 MILLION DOLLARS PER YEAR FOR FIVE TO TEN
YEARS) ARE WE NOT ACTUALLY COMMITTED TO PROVIDING MUCH AND
POSSIBLY MOST OF THIS REQUIRED ASSISTANCE. ARE WE PREPARED TO
DELIVER?

5. THESE AND OTHER QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ANSWERED
BEFORE A FINAL DETERMINATION IS MADE ON TECHNICAL
TEAMS AS THE INSTRUMENT OF OUR INITIAL ASSISTANCE
EFFORTS. THE QUESTIONS MAKE CLEAR THAT NO MATTER
HOW TECHNICAL THE SUBJECT MATTER, THE TEAMS THEM-
SELVES WILL BE INTRINSICALLY POLITICAL AND WHETHER
THEY GO THROUGH THEIR PROCESSES SUCCESSFULLY WILL
DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON THE POLITICAL AS WELL
AS TECHNICAL SOPHISTICATION OF THEIR PERSONNEL.
ADDITIONALLY, THE SUCCESS OF THIS APPROACH WILL BE
DEPENDENT ON THE PRECEPTS CURRENTLY BEING ESTABLISHED
FOR THE TEAMS. WE SHOULD CERTAINLY AVOID INVOLVING
TEAMS IN SUCH INTERNALLY AND BILATERALLY CONTENTIOUS
ISSUES AS CAPITAL FLIGHT AND COOPERATION ON TAX
TREATIES. HOPEFULLY THE TEAMS COULD BE MULTI-
LATERALIZED FROM THE BEGINNING TO INCLUDE MEMBERS
FROM OTHER POTENTIAL DONOR COUNTRIES AND INTERNATIONAL
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS. TO MY MIND, MANY OF THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KINGST 01177 02 OF 02 112156Z

POTENTIAL PITFALLS COULD BE OBIATED ALTOGETHER IF THE TEAMS COULD OPERATE UNDER AN IBRD OR OTHER INTERNATIONAL MANDATE, THE U.S. LIMITING ITS ROLE INITIALLY TO RAMRODDING THEIR FORMATION AND SUBSEQUENTLY TO ACTING AS ONE POTENTIAL DONOR AMONG OTHERS.

6. I OFFER THESE VIEWS AND POSE THESE QUESTIONS BECAUSE I THINK THEY GO TO THE HEART OF OUR INTERESTS. IN 1975 WE HAD AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO ADVANCE OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS. HAD WE SEIZED THE MOMENT I AM CONFIDENT WE WOULD NOT HAVE EXPERIENCED THE CALUMNY OF THE PAST 18 MONTHS. I HAVE SERIOUS DOUBTS THAT THE PRESENT OPENING CAN OR WILL PROVIDE THE SAME RETURNS AND IT CERTAINLY ENTAILS GREATER RISKS. YET, DESPITE THE BLEAK PROGNOSIS, I BELIEVE A MAJOR ASSISTANCE EFFORT, PROPERLY MANAGED AND PROPERLY MULTILATERAL, IS FULLY JUSTIFIED IF THIS COUNTRY IS TO HAVE A CHANCE TO SURVIVE WITHIN ITS DEMOCRATIC TRADITION. WITHOUT SUCH ASSISTANCE, JAMAICA ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL MOVE THROUGH SUCCESSIVELY WORSENING STAGES OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRISIS UNTIL IT ENDS WITH ONE BRAND OR ANOTHER OF DOGMATIC AUTHORITARIANISM.
GERARD

NOTE BY OC/T: DISSEMINATION COORDINATED WITH S/S-O.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 11-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977KINGST01177
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770085-0209
Format: TEL
From: KINGSTON
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770370/aaaacjfq.tel
Line Count: 251
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ebdabab9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: 77 STATE 51621, 75 KINGSTON 3672, 75 KINGSTON 3673, 75 KINGSTON 3770
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3140838
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TECHNICAL TEAMS & ASSISTANCE FOR JAMAICA
TAGS: EGEN, EFIN, PFOR, JM, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ebdabab9-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009